The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikew) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the koichir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

are utilised for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowandus district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowandus is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chayhanas for the diversion of other customers.

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 649
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re-
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the [761]
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

(Arabic, "blessing"), and provides a good example of what is classified as mana in most standard works on primitive religion, an amorphous supernatural power which has a seat in certain persons or objects from which it may be transmitted.

The power of these holy men, unless they themselves are disturbed in some way, is wholly benevolent. The people of Rowanduz also believe in jinni (the same noun as in Arabic), spirits who, in contrast, characteristically cause great harm. There does not appear to be much thought about ghosts. No one in Rowanduz knew of a house "haunted" by the spirit of a dead man, and equated the European notion of "ghost" with that of the jinni. The jinni, for example, might take possession of a building and drive its inhabitants out. They are held to be evil spirits who constitute a separate order of creation, like the birds or the animals, and are not necessarily related to mankind. At night one must never pour hot water out of the door without first saying "in the name of God." Although there are no cats in Rowanduz, it was said that one must never kill such an animal, because "the jinni is born in a cat and might harm one." When a boy is out walking in the wild countryside, it is believed that a voice often calls out to him, "asking him to come and meet the father," that is, the parent of the jinni who is the Fallen Angel Eblis of Islamic demonology. If the boy is foolish and leaves his path as directed, the jinni throws him from

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Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sakirmani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal shirt with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

The women's rôle in the village rather than comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connexion it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[147] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamized Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Kruhe calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preventionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Kruhe writes: "Es handelt sich sich darauch vor am Mannesthore, die Frau am dem Eingeschlechtsbund ausschliesse sind in einen sogen. den, der Sippe des Mannes, aufgenommen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that in the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Kruhe's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the hand which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to ensure a

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Fig. 16. Diagram. Cloths made out of one length of material: a: the outer wrapping; b: the inner shirt; c-d: the two head coverings; e: washing gloves; f: selvedges used for binding.

Mourning given to the dead in accordance with Allah's rite[19]. Thereafter, still only accompanied by men[20], the little girl was borne out to the burial ground, a bare hill outside Sakalawa.

In addition to the lament for the dead, another heathen feature was retained at this funeral. While the child was being dressed in the poncho and swathed in the cerements and prayer rug, which in this case acted as hier, a fowl was fought in the yard. It seemed to me it was a cock, but I may have been mistaken and it was a large hen. Blackman[21] relates concerning the Jiddahs in Egypt that: "when a child dies, a hen is killed ....". The bird was decapitated, and it was said that the head was to be buried with the dead child in order to avert further deaths in the family, whom, a fortnight earlier, the child's maternal uncle had died, for which reason the women in the house were wearing black and white chequered material in their costumes as a sign of mourning.

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766 The little boy died in my interpreter's home in Sakalawa between night and morning. He was immediately taken out of his cradle and placed on a mattress in the courtyard screened by his mother's black shift. The cradle was at once stowed away on a pile of firewood that bounded the cookhouse on the courtyard side. Despite the early hour a man was sent to the shop for some white cotton material for cerements. It was said that in cases of death the owner of the house can be called out even in the middle of the night, as it is essential that new, unwashed and unused material is used for the cerements. As the child was a boy, the washing had to be performed by a man—in this case a male